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ABSTRACT

Speakers of Turkish and Greek make far more extensive use of formulaic expressions than do speakers of English. Many of these formulas are situation-oriented, and accompany anxiety-provoking events, happy events, and the act of establishing rapport. Illness, death, leave-taking, and good fortune are among events typically accompanied by formulas. Other expressions are psycho-ostensive, showing the speaker's attitude toward an event. Typically, these formulas are designed to petition for good circumstances or ward off evil ones. Many of these sayings invoke a deity, but others are simply succinct admonitions toward a desirable end (e.g., Turkish "hayrola," "may it be good"). Finally, many expressions perform a social function at events such as weddings and childbirth. This category of sayings reveals a great deal about social structure and cultural values--a Greek will often use a formulaic apology in discourse about his daughters. A list of Greek and Turkish formulas, ranked according to obligatoriness, is appended. (JB)

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HEALTH TO OUR MOUTHS*
Formulaic Expressions in Turkish and Greek

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In the film "A Thousand Clowns" Jason Robards Jr. for a lark walks up to a series of strangers in the street and says emphatically, "I'm sorry," "I'm so sorry." The surprised strangers promptly forgive him: "That's quite all right."[1] These people respond automatically, as they have learned, to a formulaic ritual. David Olson (1974) asserts that meaning in conversation is deduced from what is known about context and from "conventionalized interpretation" rather than from an analysis of the semantics of the words spoken. That is why it makes little difference whether you say, "I couldn't care less" or "I could care less," even though the latter "means" quite the opposite of what it intends. Since the speaker's intention is clear, it doesn't matter what the words say literally. Most obvious is the formulaic nature of such expressions as "How are you," and the inappropriateness of a literal response. Foreign speakers of any language get into trouble when they decipher a formula for its literal meaning.

While it is likely that our understanding of any utterance in conversation is firstly contextual and only secondarily literal,[2] there are many phrases which are more "formulaic" than others. Fillmore has been gathering such phrases in English, and he has so far isolated at least 2500, including idioms, cliches, stock phrases, aphorisms and proverbs -- that is, combinations of words which have become associated in everyone's mind and are often repeated in sequence.

Although English has so many of these formulaic expressions, yet Americans seem to have a feeling that it is somehow in poor taste to use them at crucial times, as Zimmer and Fillmore have noted. Thus one often hears disclaimers such as, "I know this is a cliche, but..." or "Everyone must say this, but...". Furthermore, there are many situations in which Americans feel that something must be said, but they don't know what would be appropriate. Fillmore reports that the most frequently heard comment at a funeral was, "There's really nothing to say at a time like this."

Turkish and Modern Greek (and presumably many other languages) have fixed formulas which supply something to say "at a time like this." The paradigm of a "formula" in this sense is one which is invariable in form (except of course for tense, number and person changes), and is very limited if not invariable in applicability. The same expression is used by everyone in that culture in the appropriate situation, no one in that culture would use any other expression, and the failure to use it is socially marked.[3] Formulas in Turkish and Greek, as in English, fall along a continuum with regard to how often they are used, and how obligatory they are considered to be. Turkish has many formulas which cluster at the obligatory end of the continuum, while formulas in English tend

towards the optinal end. Greek has fewer fixed formulas than Turkish but many more than English. (The formulas listed in the appendix are ranked according to obligatoriness).

The closestthing in English to obligatory situational formulas are expressions like "Happy Birthday," "Merry Christmas," "Happy New Year," and "Goodnight." The pair of English expressions referred to earlier ("I'm sorry," "That's quite all right"), while formulaic in nature, are not fixed in form and function. For one thing, the English expressions can be varied in form: "I'm so sorry," "I'm really sorry," "Gee, I'm sorry," "I'm terribly sorry," and it would be possible for someone to substitute any of a number of other expressions, such as "Excuse me," or "Please forgive me," and "Never mind," or "It doesn't matter," and so on. However, it is generally considered necessary to say something in a situation where you have, for example, stepped on someone's foot. In contrast, when an American sneezes, some people say "Bless you," and some say "Gesundheit," and some people say nothing, and few people mind if they sneeze and nothing is said. This formula, therefore, would be further towards the optional end of our proposed continuum. For those who always say "Gesundheit," however, it may be possible to grasp the compulsive aspect of situation formulas in Turkish and Greek. When such a person hears someone sneeze in an exam or on the street, s/he feels compelled to say the formula even though s/he realizes tnat it is inappropriate to speak in those settings. Yet s/he will often prefer to behave inappropriately rather than resist uttering the formula. Similarly, people who come from cultures in which formulas are part of their habitual speech, find it extremely difficult to get along without them. The Turkish author of this paper constantly feels the discomfort of not being able to utter formulas in English. In fact, formulas are so pleasurable, they are addictive. When the American author returned from a trip to Greece and was told "Welcome back" (something of a formula for Americans), she could not help replying, "Well I found you," which of course elicited puzzled looks and necessitated a brief explanation of the Greek formula. Zimmer (1958) points out that Germans living in Turkey inserted Turkish formulas at the appropriate times in otherwise monolingual German conversations.

Manyof the Turkish formulas are closely related to the "psycho-ostensives" in Yiddish which Matisoff (1973) has brilliantly catalogued and illuminated. As the name implies, psycho-ostensives express the speaker's attitude toward what s/he is talking about. However, Yiddish psycho-ostensives, God bless them, are more often sentence-interruptors, and there is a priority in Yiddish culture on verbal inventiveness, so that these emotive expressions are productive. In contrast, Greek and Turkish formulas are a fixed set and are more often than not complete utterances in themselves, although some of them do come in the middle of sentences.

Psycho-ostensives focus on the relationship between the speaker and his/her subject matter. "Situational formulas" (to borrow Zimmer's term) form part of a social interaction and focus on the relationship between the interlocutors. The ritualistic

nature of these expressions is especially clear in paired formulas, where the use of one by one speaker necessitates that the other speaker respond with the other member of the pair, as in the English example, "I'm sorry," and "That's quite all right,"[4] or the fixed pairs in Turkish and Greek,

(1) Turkish: hoş geldin, hoş bulduk,

(2) Greek: *kalos orises, kalos se vrika*.[5]

What Matisoff says about Yiddish psycho-ostensives applies to our material as well: "Often it is not so much that the speaker is using an emotive formula that actually belies his true feelings, as that the formula has become a surrogate for the true feeling, an almost automatic linguistic feature that constant usage has rendered as predictable and redundant as the concord in number between subject and verb." (p.6) While many formulas are uttered automatically in dialy interactions, still in crucial situations, these cultures have agreed to accept the surrogate as evidence of the true feeling, so formulas are not judged insincere by Greeks and Turks. They accept the assumption that the emotions are fresh each time they are experienced, and the formulas are simply the best way to express them.

If we consider the functions of formulaic expressions, we can see something about the relationship of people to their world. Formulas in both Greek and Turkish fall into three main categories: anxiety-provoking events, happy events and rapport establishment.[6]

Anxiety-provoking events seem to occasion formulas for the purpose of creating a sense of control over forces that otherwise seem uncontrollable and threatening. They fall into two categories: health and loss. For example, If someone appears to be choking on food, one feels the need to do something to save her/him. An American might slap him/her on the back; a Turk would say

(3) helâl, "it is lawful, legitimate".

Originally, this formula probably implied that one chokes from eating something that does not belong to her/him, without asking permission. The speaker then breaks the "magic" by giving permission to eat the food. The same formula, by extension, is used even if there is no food involved. Similarly, if someone is ill, others say to him/her

(4) geçmiş olsun, "may it be past",

(5) *perastika* "Passingly".

In Turkish this can also be said to someone who has recently recovered. In Greek there is a different expression for this situation: *sidherenios*, "of iron."

Formulas under the broad category loss can be further classified as referring to departure or death. There are many formulas used when the speaker, the addressee, or a third person goes away,

either for a trip (6), (7), or to go to sleep (8), (9).

(6) iyi yolculuklar,
(7) *kalo taxidi*, "Good journey"

(9) *oneira glyka*, "Sweet dreams" or
kalo ximeroma, "Good dawning".

Leave-taking occasions the greatest number of formulas we have gathered: about 15% in Turkish and about 20% in Greek. For example, the Turkish

(10) Allah kavuşturşun, "may God reunite",

said after someone close to the addressee has left to go on a trip is similar to the Greek

(11) *kali andamosi*, "Good meeting"

spoken by both the person who is leaving for a trip and those who stay behind.

When someone dies, the pairs of formulas used are, in Turkish,

(12) başın sağolsun, "may your head be alive"
sen sağol, "you be alive"
(13) *syllypitiria*, "Condolences"
zoi se sas, "Life to you".

These formulas recognize the fact that a death reminds everyone of their own mortality; hence, the reassuring wish of life to those remaining.

Happy events are always occasions for formulas which acknowledge good fortune, although there is also an awareness that luck may change, so there are formulas to protect the good from evil forces. Happy events fall into the general categories occasions and gain. Occasions include general occasions such as holidays as well as personal occasions such as birthdays, weddings, baptisms (for Greeks). Gain includes arrivals and new possessions. For example, a good wish is in order when a new article of clothing is acquired:

(14) güle güle giy, "wear it laughingly"
(15) *me gheia*, "with health".

If someone has the good fortune to enjoy a visit from a loved one, his/her friends will remark,

(16) gözünüz aydın, "your eye sparkling"
(17) *kalos edechtikes*, "Well you received".

The spirit is the same, if the Turkish metaphor is more charming.

If someone buys a new house, the response will be:

(18) güle güle oturun, " stay laughingly",
(19) *kaloriziko*, "Good fate."[7]

Any social interaction is an occasion for establishing rapport bewteen participants. There are two strategies for building rapport: putting oneself down and building the other up. This can be seen especially in Turkish formulas, where relative status is a key factor. Thus one may say to guests as to a social superior,

(20) buyurun, "condescend yourself...to sit, talk.

The close connection between depricating oneself and elevating the other can be seen in the common expression,

(21) efendim, "my lord"

which can be the response when someone calls your name. The Greek expression

(21) *oriste*

functions like these two and comes from the verb "dominate."

A fascinating example of a situation in which rapport establishment is called for is the common experience of speaking favorably about one friend in the presence of another. We all know the slight twinge of jealousy that can be triggered by such a remark. In Turkish, this instinctive response is recognized, and the speaker reassures the other,

(22) sizden iyi olmasın, "may s/he not be better than you"

employing the strategy of building the other up.

Any interaction can trigger such formulas, either by the action of the addressee or the intentions or the actions of the speaker. For example, if someone puts herself/himself down verbally or by gesture, you can build her/him back up by uttering

(23) estağfurullah, "I ask pardon of God"

one of the most frequently used formulas in Turkish.

We have been looking at the situations that require formulas, and indeed they seem to be situations which are emotionally loaded for people in many cultures. As we said before, there are also formulas which are not so much situation-specific as psycho-ostensive, that is, showing the speaker's attitude toward what s/he has said. Events which trigger these sorts of formulas are roughly either past or future, and either good or bad. The attitudes towards these events correlate with Matisoff's categories for Yiddish: bono-petition, or wishing for good, and malo-fugition, or

warding off evil. More specifically, one can wish that a past good will not be destroyed or wish that it be increased, or that it be diffused to others. The concept of the evil eye is very powerful in both Turkey and Greece; that is the process by which good fortune is "jinxed." Thus mention of a good event or state almost never passes without the use of some accompanying formula, for example,

(24) Allah nazardan saklasın, "may God protect from the evil eye"

(25) *Na min vaskathis*, "May you not be touched by the evil eye."[8]

With regard to past bad events, one can express gratitude that the situation was not worse, for example by saying,

(26) Allah beterinden saklasın, " God protect from worse"

(27) *min cheirotero*, "Not worse"

or one can express the wish that it may improve or not diffuse to those one loves. A similar attitude can be seen toward future good and bad events. Possible good can be wished for oneself or others, for example,

(28) Allah gönlüne göre versin, "may God give according to your heart"

(29) *Oti epythimeite*, "Whatever you long for".

Possible bad can be warded off or, in Turkish at least, can be wished for one's enemies:

(30) düşman başına, "to enemy's head".

All these formulas dealing with good and bad events strive to overcome human powerlessness. Two sources of power are appealed to: God and the magical power of words The good will of God can be invoked in two ways: by expressing an awareness of his power

(31) evel Allah,

(32) *Prota o Theos*,"God first"

or by asking for his aid,

(33) Allah kolaylık versin, "may God give ease",

(34) *O Theos Voithos*, "God the Helper".

In reference to bad fortune, one can plead for God's mercy:

(35) Allah muhtaç etmesin, "may God not make needy",

(36) *Theos fylaxi*, "God protect".

If words can have the power to bring about desired events, this power can also be involuntarily activated so the mention of a bad event must be followed by words to erase the effect, such as,

(37) ağzından yel alsın, "may the wind take it from your mouth",

(38) *Dangase tin glossa sou*, "Bite your tongue".

In the case of the latter expression in Greek, one must actually close the teeth visibly on the tongue before the conversation can proceed. What is striking about these formulas is the concrete substance given to the utterance of words.

A number of expressions that exist in Turkish and not in Greek curiously have to do with the telling or announcing of events. Again, these seem to refer to the perceived power of the utterance. So if someone shows the intention of relating a piece of news, the addressee will pave the way with,

(39) hayrola, "may it be good",

Similarly, in Turkish, you can say to someone who has told your fortune from coffee grounds, or has said something very much to the point,

(40) ağzına sağlık, "health to your mouth",

Formulaic expressions perform a social function and thus are part of the social institutions of the cultures in which they function. They both reflect and reinforce the institutions and attitudes of those cultures. For example, in the villages of Greece, a man may respond to the question, "How many children do you have?" with the answer, "I have two children, and, I beg your pardon, one daughter." Now there is clearly something going on in the fact that "daughter" is not seen to be included in the category "children." But one notices as well that the formula,

(41) *me to sympatheio*, "with your indulgence," or "I beg your pardon"

is also uttered when one has spoken an off-color word in conversation. This seems to say something about the place of women in the culture and at the same time must contribute to the enculturation of women if little girls hear their fathers speak this formula about them.

Similarly, a formula that is sometimes used for a good wish when one is saying goodbye to a pregnant woman is

(42) *me to gheio*,"with the son".

This can be used even if she is not yet pregnant, in which case the assumption is that she wants to be. Either "son" is synonymous with "child," or the assumption is that a male child is preferable. It should be noted that these formulas are heard in the villages but rarely in Athens.

Although both Turkish and Greek cultures place much emphasis on marriage and child-bearing, there are many formulas in Greek concerning pregnancy, as for example (43), but none in Turkish.

(43) *kali leftheria*, "good freedom"

There seems to be a feeling among Turks that it is indelicate to mention this subject. There are formulaic expressions in Turkish said to a couple after they get married, but formulas uttered to wish good luck to people who are not yet married appear to be general good wishes rather than specifically related to marriage. In Greece, however, young peopleare always being wished luck in marriage. Thus at a wedding people often say to unmarried guests, especially women,

(44) *kai sta dhika sou*, "and at yours".[10]

Again in the villages, if an unmarried young woman offers someone (especially older men and women) a glass of water, that person will say, as a toast,

(45) *stis chares sou*, "to your joys"

which is understood to mean, "your wedding."

Matisoff has noted that Yiddish psycho-ostensives are concerned with certain key desiderata, in the order of desirability: long life, good health, a good living, and children. These are very close to what is wihsed for in Greek and Turkish expressions. Interestingly, while Greek formulas value long life first and good health second, and, to some extent, the blessing of children, they do not seem to be concerned with "a good living." The Turkish expressions, while also valuing long life and health, have many formulas in which happiness is invoked, in the charming set of expressions of the paradgin güle güle, "Laughingly, laughingly," where the Greek equivalents wish for health or simply "good."

(46) güle güle (git), "(go) laughingly"
(47) güle güle büyütün, "raise laughingly"
(48) güle güle giy, "wear laughingly"
(49) güle güle oturun, "stay laughingly"

(50) (*na pas*) *sto kalo*, "(go) to the good"
(51) *kali anatrofi*, "good upbringing"
(52) *me gheia*, /wear it/ "with health"
(53) *kaloriziko*, "good fate"

Another difference is that Turkish expressions are concerned with status roles, and therefore certain formulas are uttered only by people of high status to their inferiors or vice versa. Greek does not evidence this phenomenon. We are not in a position to explain the reasons for these differences; that would be an interesting area for future investigation.

The world view that emerges from these expressions in Turkish and Greek is characterized by the capriciousness of fortune -- a preoccupation with the precariousness of good fortune and the imminence of bad. Thus much energy is devoted to performing proper verbal rituals and to not offending God with compacency or pride. Understandably, therefore, many formulas have religious overtones; hence the frequency of references to Allah (Turkish) and Theos (Greek). Since, however, the Greek formulas which mention God are used less frequently than those which do not, the use of specifically religious formulas can identify a speaker as a religious person. This is related to the more general function of formulas to establish the person who uses them correctly, as a group member. This suggests another area for future research: who uses formulas, and to whom? It is likely that relative power and other social factors are reflected and solidified in the use of certain formulas.

Again, there are more fixed formulas in Turkish which are used uniformly and are considered obligatory by many people than there are in Greek. In both countries, older people tend to use formulas more than younger ones, and in Greece formulas are far more widely used in the villages than in Athens.

Insofar as the culture approves their use, formulas serve the felicitous purpose of furnishing the "right" thing to say in a situation in which it is felt that something should be said. The net effect is a very pleasant feeling of harmony. Anthropologist E. Colson (1973) explains that Americans feel much anxiety about decision-making because the responsibility resides with them personally. Natives of Gwembe in Zambia feel no anxiety about decision-making, for the appropriate procedure, divination, is formulated and agreed upon in their culture. Colson explains, "Whether the decision-making process gives rise to stress appears to relate to the difficulty of making a responsible choice that will be acknowledged as such by the actor and his critics. . . . It is when people cannot agree on what is the right choice or when they cannot agree on what are the appropriate procedures for legitimating choice that decision-making becomes charged with emotion." (p 55) Similarly, we feel anxious when someone tells us, for example, of a death in their family; we fear that what we say may not be quite right. Cultures that have set formulas afford their members the tranquility of knowing that what they say will be interpreted by the addressee in the same way that it is intended, and that, after all, is the ultimate purpose of communication.

NOTES

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1. Thanks to Hector Javkin for this example.
2. See Tannen, "Well What Did You Expect," this volume. The guiding structure may be expectation: what we expect an utterance to "mean." It would take an enormous amount of energy and concentration to decipher every utterance for its literal meaning.
3. Turkish and Greek suggested themselves for comparison because they exhibit great similarity both in the situations which require formulas and in the semantic content of those formulas. The reason for this similarity may be the close historical connection and geographical proximity of these two cultures. It would be interesting to investigate whether other cultures which have formulas exhibit the same patterns. We have some information suggesting that Arabic and Mediterranean cultures at least do.
4. Eve Sweetser points out that, at one time and in a certain subculture, "See you later alligator" obligatorily triggered the paired response, "In a while crocodile."
5. Transliteration will reflect Modern Greek spelling as much as possible. The following correspondences are employed: γ-*gh*, δ -*dh*, ντ -*d*, ξ -*x*, χ -*ch*. ου -*ou* is pronounced /u/. The following five Greek spellings are all pronounced /i/: οι -*oi*, ει -*ei*, υ -*y*, η-*i*, ι-*i*. Both αι-*ai* and ε -*e* are pronounced /ε/. Both ο and ω are transliterated as *o* and pronounced /o/.
6. This classification is similar to Matisoff's for psycho-ostensives, except that he does not have the category "rapport establishment," not surprisingly, since the latter is associated most closely with situational formulas.
7. The Turkish expression is specific to house-acquisition. The Greek formula is the same one used for any new item except clothing.
8. As in Yiddish keyn ayn-hore (Matisoff p. 51). This is an excellent example of the primacy of function as opposed to semantics. The American author, as well as every second or third generation Jewish American she questioned, is quite familiar with this expression and knows just how it is used but was thoroughly shocked to learn that it means "no evil eye." Similarly, the Turkish author had to look up the literal definitions of some formulas she uses very frequently.
9. Hence the bono-petitive title of this paper.
10. The American author knows an unmarried Greek woman who has given up going to weddings because she has tired of hearing this emotionally loaded formulaic "good wish." Laura Nader points out some women might start to worry when they stop hearing it.

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APPENDIX

The following formulas in Modern Greek are ranked according to obligatoriness, according to the judgments of 25 Greeks of varying ages, sex and geographical origins, all now living in Athens.

1. *chronia polla*, "many years"; holidays, namedays, birthdays.
2. *kalinychta*, "goodnight"; leaving at night, going to sleep.
3. *kali epitychia*, "good success"; operation.
4. *syllypitiria*, "condolences"; to one bereaved.
5. *stin ygheia sas*, "to your health"; toast.
6. *perastika*, "passingly"; to one who is ill.
7. *kalos orises*, "welcome," familiar; to one arriving.
8. *na tous chairesai*, "enjoy them" /your loved ones/; general wish.
9. *kali orixi*, "good appetite"; before a meal or to one eating.
10. *kalo taxidi*, "good trip"; to one leaving for a trip.
11. *Kali stadhiodhromia*, "good racecourse"; start of new career.
12. *kalo proodo*, "good progress"; graduation.
13. *kalos politis*, "good citizen"; to a man discharged from army.
14. *kaloriziko*, "good fate"; to one who has acquired a new item.
15. *kali tychi*, "good luck"; whenever someone needs it.
16. *kali dhiaskedhasi*, "good enjoyment"; to one leaving.
17. *na ta ekatastiseis*, "hundred them"; on someone's birthday.
18. *kalos sas vrika*, "well I found you," formal; response to (7).
19. *me gheia*, "with health"; to someone who has got new clothing.
20. *(na pas) sto kalo*, "(go) to the good"; to someone leaving.
21. *kala stefana*, "good wreaths"; on an engagement.
22. *kalos na ton dechteis*, "receive him well"; to someone who will have a loved one visit.
23. *kali lefteria*, "good freedom"; to a pregnant woman.
24. *Theos schores'ton*, "God forgive him"; mention of dead person.
25. *i ora i kali*, "the good hour"; mention of good event.
26. *kali andamosi*, "good meeting"; leaving for a long time (both leaver and stayer say).
27. *me to kalo*, "with the good"; to someone leaving.
28. *oti epythimeite*, "whatever you long for"; to someone leaving.
29. *kala ximeroma*, "good dawning"; going to sleep.
30. *na chairesai ton andhra sou*, "enjoy your husband /children, etc./"; general good wish.
31. *na ta chiliasis*, "thousand them"; on someone's birthday.
32. *O Theos Voithos*, "God the Helper"; mention of future event.
33. *ora kali*, "good hour"; variant of (25).
34. *i Panaghia mazi sou*, "the Virgin with you"; to someone leaving.
35. *se kali meria*, "in a good place"; when giving someone money.
36. *na zisete*, "may you /pl./ live"; marriage.

37. *kali chonepsi*, "good digestion"; after a meal.
38. *oneira glyka*, "sweet dreams"; to someone going to sleep.
39. *na sou zisi*, "may /he/she/ live to you"; occasion celebrated by someone's child. The formula is said to parent.
40. *gheia sta cheria sou*, "health to your hands"; to someone who has shown something they made.
41. *o Theos mazi sou*, "God with you"; to someone leaving.
42. *kala saranda*, "good forty"; to woman who has given birth.
43. *o makaritis*, "the forgiven one"; mention of deceased person.
44. *kalofóremeno*, "well-worn"; new clothing.
45. *me to sympatheio*, "with the indulgence," or "I beg your pardon"; at the mention of an off-color word.
46. *sidherenios*, "of iron"; to someone who has recovered from illness.
47. *me to gheio (me ena gheio)*, "with the son (with a son); to a pregnant woman.

Other Formulas

The following are not presented in any particular order.

48. *ktypa xilo*, "knock wood"; mention of fortunate event or state.
49. *kali evdhomadha*, "good week"; greeting on Monday.
50. *kalo mina*, "good month"; greeting, 1st day of the month.
51. *alloimono*, "woe!"; at the mention of something terrible.
52. *gheia sou*, "your health"; used like 'hi!'
53. *chairete*, "hello"; slightly more formal than (52).
54. *kalimera*, "good morning" or "good day"; greeting until 6PM.
55. *kalispera*, "good evening"; greeting after 6PM.
56. *chairo poly*, "I am very pleased"; on being introduced.
57. *charika poly*, "I was very pleased"; goodbye to new acquaintance.
58. *ti kaneis?* "how are You?" greeting.
59. *kala, esy?* "well, you?" response to (58).
60. *gheia mas*, "our health"; toast.
61. *na'sai kala*, "may you be well"; acceptance of an apology.
62. *min cheirotero*, "not worse"; mention of bad event.
63. *na min vaskathis*, "may you not be touched by evil eye"; mention of something good.

The following Turkish formulas are in order of obligatoriness according to the judgments of 23 Turks with varying ages, sex and geographical origins, all now graduate students at University of California,Berkeley, University of California, Los Angeles or Stanford University.

1. hoş geldin(iz), hoş bulduk, "welcome, well we found you"; arrival.
2. Allah'a ısmarladık, güle güle, "goodbye, (go) laughingly"; leaving.
3. günaydın, "good morning".
4. geçmiş olsun, "may it be past,"; to the person who is sick or has recently recovered from illness.
5. tebrik ederim, "I congratulate"; congratulation.
6. buyurun, "condescend yourself"...to sit, speak, come in etc.;to a social superior or to a person

with whom the Sp is on relatively formal terms.
7. tebrikler, "congratulations".
8. teşekkür ederim, birşey değil, "thank you, (it is) nothing"; thanking.
9. iyi geceler, "good night".
10. iyi/hayırlı yolculuklar, "good trip"; leaving on a trip.
11. eline sağlık, afiyet olsun, "health to your hand, bon appetit"; to the person who has done the cooking and the response.
12. kusura bakmayın, rica ederim, "(overlook) forgive (my) faults, I plead"; asking (the guests) forgiveness for your faults and the response.
13. özür dilerim, rica ederim, "I am sorry, I plead"; asking forgiveness and the response.
14. Allah rahatlık versin, sana da, "may God give you comfort, to you,too"; exchanged before going to bed.
15. sağol, "be alive"; thanking.
16. iyi günler, "good day"; short term leaving.
17. tanıştığımıza memnun oldum, ben de, "I am pleased to have met you, me, too"; parting with someone you have just been introduced to.
18. Allah rahmet eylesin, "may God have mercy on (him/her)"; referring to a dead person(a muslim).
19. iyi akşamlar, "good evening"; greeting.
20. memnun oldum, ben de(memnun oldum), "I am pleased, I am (pleased), too"; after being introduced to someone.
21. afedersiniz, "pardon me".
22. bayramınız kutlu olsun, sağol, "may your feast be merry, be alive(see 15 above)"; wish of'good feast' (national feast) to a group (e.g. by the mayor), and group response.
23. merhaba, "hello".
24. bayramınız kutlu olsun(same as 22), "may your feast be merry"; at a national feast day (individual greeting).
25. lütfen, "please".
26. nasılsınız?,teşekkür ederim, siz nasılsınız? "How are you?, Thank you, how are you?".
27. kolay gelsin/gele, "may it be easy"; to a hard working person (mental or physical work).
28. yine buyurun, bize de buyurun, "condescend yourself (to visit us) again, you condescend yourself (to visit us), too"; guests leaving.
29. sağol, sen de sağol, "be alive, you be alive, too"; thanking and response.
30. afiyet olsun, buyurun, "bon appetit, condescend yourself (to join me/us with my/our meal)"; starting a conversation with someone who is eating.
31. rica ederim, "I plead"; to someone who puts him/

herself down verbally or by gesture(similar to 78).
32. güle güle giy, "wear laughingly"; new article of clothing.
33. güle güle git, güle güle gel,"go and come laughingly"; leaving on a trip.
34. başınız sağolsun, sen sağol, "may your head be alive, you be alive"; death.
35. güle güle kullan, "use laughingly"; something new to be used.
36. Allah gönlüne göre versin, "may God give according to your heart"; when someone expresses her/his high hopes of the future.
37. şerefe, "cheers"; toast.
38. aferin, "well done"; to a child who has been obedient or has done what s/he should.
39. sıhhatler olsun, "may (it) be healthy"; after a bath or (to a man only)after a hair-cut.
40. yolun(uz) açık olsun, "may your way be open"; trip.
41. Allah mesut etsin, "may God make happy"; marriage.
42. bayramınız mübarek olsun, sizin de, "may your feast be merry"; wish of 'good feast' at a religious feast, and the response.
43. nazar değmesin, "may the evil eye not touch you"; at the mention of something/someone good, beautiful etc.
44. Allah sakladı/korudu, "God hid/protected from danger"; after an accident in which no one is hurt.
45. iyi şanslar, "good luck".
46. selâm söyle, "say goodbye (to someone)"; to someone leaving.
47. maşallah, "what (wonders) God hath willed"; at the mention of a person (or a state) who is healthy, talented or beautiful etc.
48. gözün(üz) aydın, "your eye sparkling"; to a person whose friend (relative) has arrived.
49. iyi uykular, "good sleeping"; to the person who is going to bed.
50. Allah şeytana uydurmasın, "may God not make (you/him/her follow the devil"; at the mention of a good person.
51. hayırlı uğurlu olsun, " may it be good (bring luck)"; in reference to something newly acquired.
52. güle güle otur(un), "live (sit, stay) laughingly"; new home.
53. sağlık olsun, "may it be health"; when something is lost, broken etc.
54. Allah korusun, "God forbid, God protect"; at the mention of a possible bad event.
55. inşallah, "may it please God (I hope)"; good wish.
56. hoşçakal, "remain pleasant"; goodbye.
57. nice/cok senelere, "to many years"; anniversary,

new year.
58. Allah kolaylık versin, "may God give ease"; hard work (physical).
59. hayırdır inşallah, "I hope it is good (see 55 for 'inşallah')"; to or by someone who is about to tell a dream.
60. canın sağ olsun, "may your soul be alive"; when someone breaks/loses something.
61. bereket versin, "may (God give plenty)"; said by the person who has received money (e.g. a beggar) or charity.
62. Allah kabul etsin, "may God accept"; about a day's fasting or prayer.
63. iyi işler/yıllar, "good work(s)/ years"; good wish about work, happy new year.
64. çok yaşa, sen de gör, "live long, you see (me live) too"; sneezing.
65. birşey rica edeceğim, estağfurullah"; I will plead (ask you) for a favor, not at all (see 78 for 'estafurullah')"; asking for a favor and the response.
66. Allah'ın izni (peygamberin kavli) ile kızınızı istiyoruz, "we want your daughter's hand with the permission of God (and the word of the prophet)"; parents of the groom asking the parents of the bride to give their consent to the marriage.
67. (çocukların) gözlerinden öperim, "I kiss the eyes (of the children)"; to someone (who has children) leaving.
68. (dedenin) ellerinden öperim, "I kiss the hands (of your grandfather)"; to someone (who lives with his/her grandfather) leaving.
69. Allah kavuştursun, "may God reunite"; departure of someone close to the addressee.
70. Amin, "Amen"; response to a good wish or after a prayer.
71. Allah razı olsun, "may God approve"; to someone who did (you) a favor.
72. memnuniyetle, "with pleasure"; response to a request.
73. eksik olmayın, "may you not be absent"; thanking an offer or favor.
74. ziyade olsun, afiyet olsun, "may it be plenty, bon appetit"; exchanged by the host/ess and the guests after a meal.
75. uğurlar ola, "may (your way) be lucky"; to someone leaving or passing by.
76. zahmet olacak, rica ederim, "it will be trouble (for you), I plead (see 31 for 'rica ederim')"; asking for a favor and the reassurance of the other person that s/he will do it willingly.
77. Allah başka keder vermesin, "may God not give other grief"; after a bad, unlucky event.

78. estağfurullah, "Iask pardon of God (not at all)"; to someone who puts her/himself down verbally or by gesture.
79. Allah zihin açıklığı versin, "may God give openness of mind"; hard work (mental).
80. hayırlı işler/yıllar/sabahlar, "good work(s)/years/morning"; general good wish about work/happy new year/good morning.
81. bir zahmet..., "a trouble"; asking for a small favor.
82. Allah beterinden saklasın, "God protect from worse"; after an accident.
83. eyvallah, "so be it"; okey or thank you or goodbye.
84. başımızın üstünde yeri var, "(it) has a place on our head"; reassuring the person asking for a favor that it is no trouble.
85. ağzına sağlık, "health to your mouth"; to the person who has told (your) fortune from coffee grounds or to someone who has said something very much to the point.
86. kısmetse/kısmet olursa, "if it is (my, our) destiny"; at the mention of future intentions.
87. ellerin dert görmesin, "may your hands never know trouble"; thanking for something done with the hands.
88. darısı başına, "the corn to your head (may you follow suit)"; any happy event.
89. güle güle büyütün, "raise laughingly"; to the parents of a new baby.
90. Allah bozmasın, "may God not destroy"; at the mention of a happily married couple or a general good state.
91. Allah günahlarını/taksiratını affetsin, "may God forgive his/her sins"; referring to a dead person.
92. iyi günlerde giy, "wear (it) in good days"; new article of clothing.
93. Allah sabır(lar) versin, "may God give patience (pl.)"; for something that requires patience.
94. cümlemize/zi/zin, "to/acc./of us all"; at the mention of a good wish.
95. başüstüne, "upon my head"; polite answer to a request or order.
96. Allah ne muradın varsa versin, "may God grant you all your wishes"; way of expressing gratitude for a favor.
97. nur içinde yatsın, "may he rest in holy light"; referring to a dead person (whose death is not recent).
98. uğurlar olsun, "may(your way) be lucky"; to someone who is leaving or passing by (similar to 75).
99. kesen(ize bereket, "plenty to your wallet"; thanking the host/ess after a meal.

100. helâl, "(it is) lawful, legitimate"; to someone who chokes.
101. Allah'ın izniyle, "with God's permission"; at the mention of a future intention.
102. Allah izin verirse, "God allowing/permitting"; at the mention of a future intention.
103. toprağı bol olsun, "may his earth be plenty"; referring to a dead person (whose death is not resent).
104. Allah analı babalı büyütsün, "may God raise (the baby) with her/his mother and father";about a baby or children.
105. ayıptır söylemesi..., "it is a shameful thing to say (but)..."; before uttering something one is not supposed to say.
106. Allah versin, "may God give"; polite refusal of a beggar asking for money or at the mention of someone rich or happy.
107. Allah nazardan saklasın, "may God protect from the evil eye"; at the mention of a person (or state) who is talented, healthy, beautiful etc.
108. evel Allah, "God first"; showing faith in God.
109. Allah nasip ederse, "if God gives (me my) share"; at the mention of a future intention.
110. tatlı rüyalar, "sweet dreams"; to someone going to bed.
111. Allah'a emanet, "left in the care of God"; (same as 107).
112. hayrola, "may it be good"; wish that the news one is about to hear are good.
113. rastgele, "may you come across (them)"; to the person going fishing or hunting.
114. Allah dert göstermesin, "may God not show grief"; general good wish.
115. sağolsun(lar)...,"may s/he (they) be alive..."; complaining about a family member.
116. sizden iyi olmasın, "may s/he not be better than you (but)..."; talking to a friend about a close friend.
117. Allah ziyade etsin, "may God make better/more"; to the host/ess after a meal.
118. üzerinize afiyet, "health onto you"; talking about illness.
119. hamdolsun, "thank God"; expressing thanks to God and as an answer to the question: 'how are you?'.
120. Allah düşürmesin, "may God not make fall"; talking about doctors, hospitals or an institution that gives one a hard time.
121. Allah düşmanıma vermesin, "may God not give (even) to my enemy"; at the mention of something very bad.

122. hayırlı ise olsun, "may it be if it is good"; good wish about something the consequences of which are unknown (generally about a marriage).
123. bir yastıkta kocayın, "grow old on the same pillow"; marriage.
124. sağlıcakla kal, "remain with health"; by someone who is leaving.
125. Allah daim etsin, "may God make (it) permanent"; wish for the continuation of a good state.
126. Allah muhtaç etmesin, "may God not make (one) needy"; talking about old age or a state when one may have to be dependent on others.
127. sözüm meclisten dışarı, "my word out of the group"; mentioning something bad, dirty, tabu that should not be mentioned in the presence of the group addressed.
128. el öpenlerin çok olsun, "may you have a lot of people kiss your hand"; by the person whose hand is kissed.
129. Allah affetsin, "may God forgive"; at the mention of a sinful person dead or alive.
130. Allah daha iyi etsin, "may God make better"; at the mention of a good state.
131. tövbe de, "say:'I repent'"; to the person who talks about something sinful.
132. tövbeler olsun, "may it be repentance"; by the person who talks about something sinful.
133. tövbe tövbe, "(I) repent"; same as 132.
134. kurban olsun, "may (it) be a sacrifice to you"; asking someone you love to do something good for her/himself. (Erzurum dialect).
135. görüşmek üzere, "(with the intention of) meeting again"; parting with someone.
136. Allah'ın gücüne gider, "God may be offended"; when someone complains about something that is considered God's gift.
137. ağzından yel alsın, "may the wind take it from your mouth"; at the mention of a possible bad event.
138. Allah şaşırtmasın, "may God not mislead"; at the mention of a good person.
139. düşman kulağına kurşun, "lead(/led/) to the enemy's ear"; at the mention of a possible bad event.
140. düşman başına, "to the enemy's head"; at the mention of something very bad.
141. kurban olsun, "may (it) be a sacrifice to you"; affirmative answer to a request from someone you love. (a different use of the same expression in 134).
142. tünaydın, "good afternoon".

143. dilini ısır, "bite your tongue"; at the mention of a possible bad event.

Other Formulas

144. rahatsız olmayın, "don't be uncomfortable"; guest to other guests in the room who stand up to greet him/her as s/he comes in.
145. selâmünaleyküm, aleykümselâm, "peace be on you, peace be to you"; greeting a group of people and the response.
146. (iki oğlum) kusura bakmayın (bir de kızım var), "(I have two sons and) excuse me (one daughter)"; telling how many children one has. (Erzurum dialect).
147. efendim, "my lord"; answering when one's name is called or when one has not quite heard something that was addressed to one.
148. (annenize)hürmetler ederim, "I (send) respect (to your mother)"; to someone (who has a mother) leaving.
149. bayramınız mübarek olsun, "may your feast be merry" at a religious feast day.
150. iyi eğlenceler, "good enjoyment"; to someone going to a party, celebration etc.
151. Allah şifa versin, "may God give recovery"; to or about someone who has been sick for some time.

-The parentheses in formulas 1,40,48,52,93,99 and 115 indicate plural.